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ABSTRACT

The paper described and compared the attitudes that teenage boys and girls hold of marriage and procreation. Sex comparison was emphasized, because the process of change and its concomitant value and role confusion may be producing conflicting orientations toward future familial roles and spouses' expected roles. Specifically, the study focused on boys' and girls' projected age of marriage, number of children, work of their spouses and selves outside the home, and the importance the youths accord desire to marry relative to other goals. It was hypothesized that the orientations of girls will deviate from tradition more than boys. The sample population was questioned in 1966, when the boys and girls were high school sophomores, and again in 1968, regardless of school status. All of the youths resided in rural East Texas at the time of the first interview, and the large majority maintained a similar residence in 1968. The sample area was also characterized by low median family income and a large Negro population. A striking result of this investigation was that the marital-family orientations of the Negro and white boys and girls did not change appreciably over the 2 year period. The boys and girls differed most significantly for orientations toward their spouses or selves, respectively, working outside the home. In contrast to the boys, almost none of the girls, Negro or white, appeared to adhere to the traditional ideas that "a woman's place is in the home." (KM)

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SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE PROJECTIONS OF RURAL NEGRO AND WHITE YOUTH TOWARDS MARRIAGE AND PROCREATION

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most conspicuous and pervasive changes occurring in American society in the last several decades has been the increasing depolarization of sex-roles (Winick, 1968). Dress, hair-styles, given names, recreational activities, work roles, even personality characteristics are becoming less gender-specific (See Winick, 1968; Angrist, 1969; Vincent, 1966; Silverman, 1967). Perhaps like any process of social change, this blurring of sex differences has created problems of value and role confusion and conflict.[1] Many boys and girls have internalized values and role-orientations traditionally characteristic of the opposite sex.[2] It appears that, as a result, societal role prescriptions are emphasizing less and less the traditional definition of sex-roles along the instrumental-expressive axis. These changes in sex-role difinitions may have profound implications for society's most basic social structures, especially the family.

While there has been much speculation regarding the consequences for the family, there has been little research on what, theoretically at least, appears a crucial link in this process of social change: the goals youth hold towards future familial statuses and roles. Perceived societal role prescriptions, individual needs and values, perceived opportunity for goal attainment, the confusions and conflicts youth feel regarding all of these

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[1]The writing on this topic, at least that regarding female role-conflict, is too voluminous to enumerate here. See, among others: Bell, 1967: 329-332; McKee and Sherrifs, 1960; Komarovsky, 1946; Wallin, 1950; Rostow, 1964.

[2]Traditionally, females have been expected to emphasize collectivistic, affective and ascriptive values; males the opposite (Podell, 1969: 163).

culminate in their goals and the integration of the goals in the youths' aspirational frames of reference.[3] With technological advance, improved birth-control techniques, and increased legal and educational equality for women, the motivation and goals individuals hold towards marriage and familial status-roles are playing an increasingly significant role in the determination of marital-family status attainment and role performance. Thus, marital-family goals may provide an important key to prediction of future family structure.

The purpose of this paper is to describe and compare the goals teenage boys and girls hold towards marriage and their families of procreation. Sex comparison is emphasized, because the process of change and its concomitant value and role confusion may be producing conflicting orientations of boys and girls towards their future familial roles and the expected roles of their spouses. These conflicting orientations may remain to the time of decision-making and even beyond, thus, creating problems in the marital-family situation (Rodgers, 1959).

RELEVANT THEORY AND RESEARCH

Theoretical Sex Differences

This study focuses specifically on boys' and girls' projected age of marriage, number of children in their future families of procreation, work of their spouses or selves, respectively, outside the home, and the importance the youth accord desire to marry and raise a family relative

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[3]The set of goals an individual holds towards future status attainment (Merton, 1957: 132-133).

to other goals. It is hypothesized that these orientations of girls will deviate from tradition more than these of boys.

This hypothesis is based on the theoretical premises that the female adolescent is more amenable to redefinition of sex-roles than the male adolescent and that sex-role definition is intimately bound to marital-family status-roles. America's universal educational system in particular may have encouraged girls to internalize the high achievement motivation which characterizes American society and certainly has encouraged her to develop the capability to achieve (Bell, 1967). Such achievement has traditionally been in the province of the male sex-role, not the female (Podell, 1969). Therefore, utilization of the female's talents and skills and fulfillment of these achievement desires necessitates redefinition of her sex-role to include an achievement oriented role outside the home. The accommodation of such a role to the traditional role of wife and mother would be facilitated by later marriage and fewer children. A consequence of such accomodation may also be relegation of marital-family goals to a lower priority than that tra itionally prescribed.

Redefinition of the female sex-role logically necessitates complementary redefinition of the male sex-role in the family and in the labor market. The attraction of women to noncompetitive, expressive "womens" occupations has not threatened male preeminence in the occupational arena. However, employment of the wife outside the home may threaten male economic preeminence in the family (Hacker, 1957) and, as a consequence, in the power hierarchy (Blood and Hamblin, 1958). Employment of the wife has also been shown to result in less dichotomization and sex-typing of various other familial roles (Blood and Hamblin, 1958). Perhaps in anticipation of such consequences, adult males have been found to be unfavorably inclined

towards their wives working, perceiving this as a threat to their culturally defined dominance (Axelson, 1963), thus, as a threat to their masculinity. It is not unlikely that today's male adolescents would anticipate the same threat. Therefore, one may expect boys to be less desirous of their wives working than girls are of working themselves. In regard to the other marital-family orientations, there may be a number of influencing factors virtually unrelated to sex-role redefinition and male-female status (eg., concern about over-population). However, this influence is not likely to be compounded by desire to redefine their sex-roles for the boys whereas it is probable for the girls.

Race as a Factor Affecting Sex Differences

The foregoing discussion pertains primarily to the changing definitions of white sex-roles and to the implications for the orientations of white youth. In the predominantly lower-class Negro communities, sex-roles have been defined somewhat differently than in the white community, especially in the home, and the Negro is beset by a peculiar set of problems which are related to marital-family behavior. It is likely, therefore, that sex-variation in some marital-family orientations will differ significantly for many Negro youth.

The large family has been a particular burden for the Negro -- a factor which previous research suggests has significantly affected at least Negro girls' orientations towards marriage and family life. Negro girls appear to be attempting to dissociate themselves from their oppressive environment by rejecting large families and putting less emphasis on familial statuses and roles -- significantly moreso than white girls (Thomas, 1971; Kuvlesky and Obordo, 1971). Negro males may also have oriented themselves in this direction. However, the lower-class Negro

male has often enjoyed a more irresponsible position in the Negro family than the Negro female (Cavan, 1964: 548). Consequently, he has not felt the burden of the large Negro family to the extent of the Negro female and his familial orientations are not as likely to have been affected by it. Negro boys, therefore, may be expected to desire larger families than Negro girls, at least in the lower-class.

In regard to orientations towards his spouse's employment, the Negro male has less to lose than the white male, because generally his status in the family has never been as high as the white male's (Cavan, 1964). In addition, employment of females is slightly more common in Negro communities (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970: 214). Past research shows that the attitudes of men whose wives work outside the home are more favorable towards her employment than the attitudes of husbands of non-working wives (Axelson, 1963). On this premise, one may expect that a more favorable attitude regarding employment of wives characterizes the Negro than white community. It is likely that this attitude would be reflected in the orientations of Negro boys.

The Developmental Process

The orientations of the youth will be delineated at two different stages of adolescence to permit analysis of the dyramics of the orientations, or the developmental process. Of interest is the extent to which these orientations are stable over time. Also important is the direction of the change, if any, in the orientations. Borrowing from theories of occupational projection development, one may expect marital-family projections to become more realistic over time. For white girls, this may mean a greater familial orientation and commitment given the probably still

operative societal prescription that white women grant primacy to marital-family roles. For Negro girls, it may mean a greater orientation toward dissociation from their oppressive environment, which may entail less familial commitment, as they become more cognizant of factors which will help mitigate their situation. Conversely, the orientations of Negro girls may also change in opposite direction as they become increasingly aware of barriers to their goal attainment.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework employed in this study for analysis of marital-family goals is based upon that employed by Kuvlesky and Bealer for analysis of occupational and educational status projections (Kuvlesky and Bealer, 1966). Aspirations are distinguished from expectations, because what a youth desires or wants (his aspirations) in regard to future marital and familial status-roles may differ significantly from what he actually anticipates (his expectations). Perhaps both aspirations and expectations may be considered goals, because both may direct youth's behavior toward future status attainment. The rank of importance youth accord marital-family goals relative to others provides a measure of the salience of these goals in a youth's frame of aspirational reference, thereby suggesting the extent to which pursuit of these goals may be granted priority over pursuit of others.

Past Research

Few sociologists have undertaken the study of marital-family status projections per se. Because marital-family status-roles are especially salient in the lives of females, much of the research which has been done in the area has been confined to females' projections.

A few studies made during the 1960's report the following sex differences: high school girls desired and expected to marry at an earlier age than their male peers (Franklin and Remmers, 1965; Garrison, 1966) and Negro boys expected more children than Negro girls (Knapp and Boyd, 1970). No studies were found which investigated sex differences in Negroes' fertility aspirations. Extant evidence indicated little difference between the number of children desired and expected by white boys and girls. Between two and four children appears to be the norm internalized by most white youth, regardless of sex (Garrison, 1966).

Negro or white boys and girls have seldom been questioned directly regarding their projections for their spouses or themselves, respectively, to work outside the home. A Georgia study reports that 88 percent of the boys surveyed stated "housewife" as the desired occupation for their wife (Garrison, 1966). In contrast, research repeatedly demonstrates that girls seldom indicate housewife or homemaker as their preferred occupation (Flanagan, et al., 1964; Slocum and Empey, 1957; Stratton, 1957). Yet the latter studies did not investigate the conditions under which the girls intended to pursue their desired occupations. That is, whether or not they looked forward to a career after marriage and/or after children. In some studies, large proportions of the girls sampled have evinced a desire to combine homemaker and career roles (Slocum and Empey, 1957; Turner, 1964; Kosa, et al., 1967).

There appears to have been no previous investigation of relative importance of marital-family goals for girls or boys. Furthermore, there has been virtually no attempt to delineate the process of development of marital-family aspirations and expectations.

This study amplifies a previous analysis of girls' projections regarding marriage and procreation by Kuvlesky and Obordo (1969), by including boys' orientations, rank importance of marital-family goals, and longitudinal comparison of these orientations. Major emphasis is placed on the analysis of data collected at a point in time closer to the decision-making process than that reported by Kuvlesky and Obordo.

METHODS

The boys and girls comprising the sample for this study were questioned in 1966, when they were high school sophomores, and again in 1968, regardless of their school status at that time. Eighty-nine percent of the original sample was recontacted in 1968. Only the youth who were interviewed both in 1966 and 1968 are included in this study. Because ethnicity and marital status are likely to be factors influencing marital-family orientations, Mexican-American and married boys and girls have been excluded from the sample.

Evidence of a general similarity in the 1966 marital-family projections of the girls who were and who were <u>not</u> recontacted in 1968 (as indicated by the low association between marital-family orientation and recontact status, Table 1, Appendix) suggests the failure to recontact a small portion of the boys and girls did not significantly alter the quality of the sample. However, many of the youth not recontacted had dropped out of school by 1968, a factor which may have influenced their orientations.

All of the youth resided in rural,[4] East Texas at the time of the first interview, and the large majority maintained similar residence in

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[4]The counties in the sample area were classified 100 percent rural in the 1960 U.S. Census. None were adjacent to metropolitan areas.

1968. This sample area was also characterized by low median family incomes[5] and a large Negro population. One is cautioned in generalizing from the findings of this study to areas without similar characteristics. Preferred, as well as actual, age of marriage and size of family have been found to vary positively and inversely, respectively, by socio-economic status (Westhof and Potvin, 1961; Drabick, 1965; Gustavus and Mommsen, 1969; Franklin and Remmers, 1961). In addition, persons of rural residence tend to marry earlier and to have larger families than persons residing in urban areas (Moss, 1965; Larsen and Rogers, 1964), and evidence suggests that rural residents in the South have larger family ideals (Freedman and Sharp, 1954).

The family backgrounds of the Negro and white youth were markedly different in certain respects, reflecting differences found between Negro and white communities generally (Moynihan, 1966). The Negro boys and girls came from lower socio-economic backgrounds than the whites, their families were much larger and more often characterized by parental absence and marital instability (Table 1).

In 1966 all of the youth and in 1968 the majority of the youth were administered questionnaires in school in a group setting. Most of the remainder in 1968 were given a personal interview and the few who could not be questioned in either manner were mailed questionnaires. Data are not available from the youth who had to be contacted by mailout questionnaires about their orientation toward the female spouse working outside

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[5]Median family incomes in the sample counties ranged from $1,737 to $2,451 per year.

Table 1 . Selected Background Characteristics of Negro and White Boys and Girls.

Characteristics of Family of Orientation	Negro		White	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	percent			
Parental Absence	34	29	11	6
Divorce or Separation	22	17	5	2
Main Breadwinner's Job Unskilled or Semi-Skilled	75	68	20	24
Mother Employed Outside Home or Looking for Work	69	67	52	42
5 or More Children	86	81	35	33
Mean No. of Children	6.8	6.8	3.7	3.9

the home. Most of these youth were high school dropouts, a factor which, as noted above, may have influenced these projections.

Because of the influence SES may have on marital-family orientations, the ideal analytical approach is to control for socio-economic status. Unfortunately, the number of Negro youth of moderate or higher socio-economic status is too small to permit SES comparison. However, a social class control has been employed by restricting a part of the analysis to just the lower-SES portion of the sample. The youth whose main family-breadwinners were unemployed or employed as unskilled or semiskilled (operatives) laborers were classified of low socio-economic status. Because this group is not large, the major focus of the analysis will be on the responses of the total sample. Patterned sex differences and similarities identified in the total sample will be compared with trends in the low SES portion.

RESULTS

The marital-family orientations the youth evinced in 1968 will be described first. A brief discussion of how these responses compare with those the youth made in 1966 will follow. Finally, the orientations of the boys and girls of low socio-economic status will be examined.[6]

1968 Responses

Desired Age of Marriage

Desired age of marriage was obtained from an open-ended question which requested the respondent to state the age at which he or she would "like to

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[6]Complete distributions of the 1968 and low SES responses have not been included in this paper but are available upon request.

get married." Like traditional patterns of actual behavior in American society, females desired to marry earlier than males (Table 2). Most Negro and white girls preferred to marry in or before their early twenties. A substantially large proportion of the boys, especially the Negroes, preferred to wait until the late twenties.

Number of Children Desired and Expected

To obtain fertility projections, the respondents were asked how many children they wanted and how many they expected to have. Structured alternative responses ranged from "none" to "3 or more."

Boys and girls were similar, regardless of race, in that both desired and expected small families, i.e., from 2 to 4 children (Tables 3 and 4). Significant differences were found only between the aspirations of the white boys and girls. White boys were more prone to want to limit their family to only 2 children.

Desires and Expectations Regarding Work of Wife or Self Outside the Home

Girls and boys were asked their desired and expectations for themselves or their spouses, respectively, to work outside the home. Alternative responses were listed as shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Regardless of race, boys desired that their wives make less of a commitment to a job or career outside the home than the girls, themselves, desired to make (Table 5). These differences were especially conspicuous between the white boys and girls. Over half of the white boys did not want their wives to work at all. Those who did preferred that their wives work only part-time until a child arrived. In contrast, a large majority of the white girls desired to work until they had a child; most, full-time. White boys and girls were similar in that neither desired their spouses or themselves, respectively, to work outside the home after children.

Table 2. Age of Marriage Desired by White and Negro Boys and Girls in 1968.

Desired Age of Marriage	White		Negro	
	Boys (N=103)	Girls (N=88)	Boys (N=79)	Girls (N=76)
	percent			
20 or less	10	44	8	24
21-22	41	30	14	37
23-24	18	16	19	21
25 or more	31	10	59	18
Total	100	100	100	100
No information		0	5	1
Whites:	$x^2 = 33.62$	df=3	P<.001	$\bar{C}$=.53
Negroes:	$x^2 = 31.25$	df=3	P<.001	$\bar{C}$=.56

Table 3. Number of Children Desired by White and Negro Boys and Girls in 1968.

Number of Children	Whites		Negroes	
	Boys (N=104)	Girls (N=88)	Boys (N=79)	Girls (N=77)
	Percent			
0	1	3	0	1
1	2	0	3	4
2	41	27	34	43
3	36	31	20	17
4	17	30	33	30
5 or more	3	9	10	5
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	0	0	5	0
Mean	2.75	3.15	3.19	2.90
Median	2	3	3	3

*Whites: $x^2 = 8.96$ df = 3 $.02 < P < .05$

*Negroes: $x^2 = 2.77$ df = 3 $.30 < P < .50$

*Categories 0 - 2 were combined in calculation of chi square.

Table 4. Number of Children Expected by White and Negro Boys and Girls in 1968.

Number of Children	Whites		Negroes	
	Boys (N=99)	Girls (N=87)	Boys (N=76)	Girls (N=76)
	Percent			
0	2	1	0	3
1	4	1	3	5
2	42	30	28	38
3	27	35	25	17
4	19	23	33	22
5 or more	6	10	11	15
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	5	1	8	1
Mean	2.79	3.14	3.39	3.04
Median	3	3	3	3

*Whites: $x^2 = 4.84$ df = 3 $.05 < P < .10$

*Negroes: $x^2 = 5.33$ df = 3 $.05 < P < .10$

*Categories 0 - 2 were combined in calculation of chi square.

Table 5. Boys' and Girls' Desire for Spouse or Self, respectively, to Work Outside the Home after Marriage: in 1968.

Conditions for Working	White		Negroes	
	Boys (N=97)	Girls (N=83)	Boys (N=77)	Girls (N=72)
	Percent			
Not at all	54	17	26	11
Part-time until child	29	14	36	20
Full-time until child	13	59	23	26
Part-time after child	4	4	11	28
Full-time after child	0	6	4	15
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	7	5	7	5

*Whites: $x^2 = 49.64$ df = 3 $P < .001$

Negroes: $x^2 = 19.40$ df = 3 $P < .001$

*The last two categories were combined in calculation of chi square.

Table 6. Boys' and Girls' Expectation for Spouse or Self, respectively, to Work Outside the Home after Marriage: in 1968.

Conditions for Working	Whites		Negroes	
	Boys (N=96)	Girls (N=83)	Boys (N=76)	Girls (N=69)
	Percent			
Not at all	40	11	19	22
Part-time until child	37	19	42	24
Full-time until child	15	42	17	16
Part-time after child	8	19	18	25
Full-time after child	0	9	4	13
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	8	5	8	8

Whites: $x^2 = 43.54$ df = 4 $P < .001$

Negroes: $x^2 = 7.76$ df = 4 $.10 < P < .20$

While Negro boys were more inclined toward their wife working after marriage than white boys, they restricted their preferences to before the arrival of children in the family. In contrast, a substantial proportion of Negro girls desired to work even after children, although most of these girls preferred to work only part-time.

Sex differences in these expectations of the white youth were patterned similarly to the differences in the youths' aspirations[7] (Table 6). Sex differences in the expectations of the Negro youth were not statistically significant.

Importance of Marital-Family Goals

To elicit relative importance of marital-family goals, the youth were asked to rank their desire "to get married and raise a family" and six other goals -- occupational, educational, leisure-time, money, place of residence, and material possessions -- by the order of importance these goals were to themselves.

There was little difference in the ranking of marital-family goals by white boys and girls (Table 7). The central tendency was to rank them moderately. However, ranking of the goals by both white boys and girls was quite variable. Substantial proportions ranked them high and low, as well as moderately.

The distributions of both Negro boys and girls are skewed towards the low ranks of 6 and 7, especially the boys'. The central tendency for the Negro girls was to rank marital-family goals moderately; for the boys,

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[7]Differences in aspirations and expectations were not statistically significant according to chi square analysis for any race-sex grouping.

Table 7. Rank of Importance Accorded Marital-Family Goals by White and Negro Boys and Girls in 1968.

Rank	Whites		Negroes	
	Boys (N=97)	Girls (N=78)	Boys (N=78)	Girls (N=73)
	----------Percent----------			
High (1-2)	28	41	5	14
Moderate (3-5)	45	30	24	38
Low (6-7)	27	29	71	48
Total	100	100	100	100
No information	7	10	6	4
Mean	3.9	3.6	5.6	4.9
Median	4	3	6	5

Whites: $x^2 = 4.36$ df = 2 $.10 < P < .20$

Negroes: $x^2 = 8.58$ df = 2 $.01 < P < .02$

slightly lower. Negro boys and girls were similar in that few of either ranked family goals high.

1966 Responses

A striking result of this investigation is that the marital-family orientations of the Negro and white boys and girls, when viewed in the aggregate, did not change appreciable over the two-year period. Statistical analysis reveals no significant differences between 1966 and 1968 in any of the orientations (Table 2, Appendix). Therefore, patterns of sex differences and similarities remained similar, as shown in Table 8. In 1966, differences between the white boys and girls were noticable in their projections regarding work of their spouses or selves, respectively, outside the home and in their ranking of marital-family goals. Other changes from 1966 to 1968 were only slight.

Responses of the Youth of Low Socio-Economic Status

Tables 9 and 10 highlight salient sex differences and similarities observed in the total sample and in the low SES portion. The same trends can consistently be observed in both samples. Responses of the youth of low socio-economic status differed substantially from those of the total sample in only two instances:

1. White girls of low socio-economic status tended to rank desire to marry and raise a family lower in 1966 than white girls in the total sample.
2. Fewer white males of low SES anticipated their wives working outside the home.

Since a concomitant difference in the latter orientation did not occur for the low SES girls, the disparity between the sexes in this projection was markedly greater in the low SES sample.

Table 8. Corrected Contingency Coefficients ($\bar{C}$) Measuring Association between Sex and Marital-Family Orientations in 1966 and 1968*

Orientations	White				Negro			
	1966		1968		1966		1968	
	$\bar{C}$	Nature of Difference	$\bar{C}$	Nature of Difference	$\bar{C}$	Nature of Difference	$\bar{C}$	Nature of Difference
Desired age of marriage	.45	B>G	.53	B>G	.48	B>G	.56	B>G
No. children desired	NS		.27	G>B	NS		NS	
No. children expected	NS		NS		NS		NS	
Desire for self or spouse to work after marriage	.82	G>B	.63	G>B	.56	G>B	.47	G>B
Expectation for self or spouse to work after marriage	.82	G>B	.60	G>B	NS		NS	
Rank of importance of marital-family goals	.44	G>B	NS		NS		.34	G>B

*$\bar{C}$ is shown only where sex differences were statistically significant at the .05 level or below. NS signifies nonsignificant differences

Table 9. Summary of Salient Differences and Similarities Found Between White Boys and Girls in the Total Sample and the Lower-Class Portion of the Sample by Year of Contact.

	1966		1968	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
$\bar{M}$ Age of Marriage Desired				
Total Sample	22.8	21.6	23.2	21.2
Low SES	22.7	20.9	22.9	20.8
%Desiring to Marry at Age 23 or older				
Total Sample	51	23	49	26
Low SES	48	24	47	19
$\bar{M}$ No. Children Desired				
Total Sample	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.9
Low SES	2.8	3.0	2.8	3.2
% Desiring Small Families (2-4 children)				
Total Sample	86	92	94	88
Low SES	85	86	90	86
$\bar{M}$ No. Children Expected				
Total Sample	2.8	3.1	2.8	3.1
Low SES	2.6	3.0	2.7	3.0
% Expecting Small Families				
Total Sample	83	91	88	88
Low SES	86	95	90	86
% Desiring Self or Spouse to Work Outside Home				
Total Sample	36	85	46	83
Low SES	43	75	55	85
% Expecting Self or Spouse to Work Outside Home				
Total Sample	43	86	60	89
Low SES	50	72	35	95
$\bar{M}$ Rank of Importance Accorded Marital-Family Goals				
Total Sample	4.4	3.7	3.9	3.6
Low SES	4.8	4.5	4.0	3.7
% Ranking Marital-Family Goals Moderately				
Total Sample	45	47	45	30
Low SES	52	52	35	30

Table 10. Summary of Salient Differences and Similarities Found Between Negro Boys and Girls in the Total Sample and the Lower-Class Portion of the Sample by Year of Contact.

	1966		1968	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
$\bar{M}$ Age of Marriage Desired				
Total Sample	25.9	22.6	24.7	22.3
Low SES	25.6	22.7	24.4	22.6
% Desiring to Marry at Age 23 or Older				
Total Sample	80	51	78	39
Low SES	78	54	75	44
$\bar{M}$ No. of Children Desired				
Total Sample	3.4	3.0	3.7	3.1
Low SES	3.5	3.0	3.3	3.0
% Desiring Small Families (2-4 children)				
Total Sample	87	88	87	90
Low SES	84	86	87	90
$\bar{M}$ No. of Children Expected				
Total Sample	3.7	3.1	3.4	3.0
Low SES	3.8	3.2	3.6	3.4
% Expecting Small Families				
Total Sample	78	83	86	77
Low SES	75	76	84	74
% Desiring Self or Spouse to Work Outside Home				
Total Sample	74	90	74	89
Low SES	80	93	74	89
% Expecting Self or Souse to Work Outside Home				
Total Sample	78	83	81	78
Low SES	81	86	85	83
$\bar{M}$ Rank of Importance Accorded Marital-Family Goals				
Total Sample	5.4	5.1	5.6	4.9
Low SES	5.3	5.3	5.6	4.9
% Ranking Marital-Family Goals Low				
Total Sample	58	55	71	48
Low SES	53	59	69	45

DISCUSSION

The most significant difference between the orientations of the boys and girls, in terms of the theoretical approach of this study, was in regard to orientations toward their spouses or selves, respectively, working outside the home after marriage. In contrast to the boys, almost none of the girls, Negro or white, appeared to adhere to the traditional ideas that "a woman's place is in the home." While their positive orientation toward marriage and children demonstrates that the girls do not intend to reject the traditional, feminine roles of wife and mother, the overwhelming majority desire to supplement the role of wife, at least, with an achievement-oriented work role. The majority of Negro girls also desire and intend to combine mother and career roles. Nevertheless, the conditions most Negro and white girls specified for working suggested that in their minds the role of mother still remains paramount, necessitating for the white girls total sacrifice and for the Negroes at least partial sacrifice of egoistic involvement in job or career.

Even if the girls are not motivated by an egoistic need to achieve but by an anticipated need to contribute to family income, the implications of the role-female disparity are somewhat unfavorable for at least initial marital adjustment. That is, of course, if the conflicting orientations of the sexes extend to the time of decision-making in the marital situation.

For the white youth, especially, the implications are mitigated to some extent by the probable lesser degree of commitment to a job or career desired and intended by the girls than the boys. The temporary commitment of the female would in most cases probably reduce her ability to compete

with the male as an income earner -- obviously eliminate it while young children were in the home. Consequently, the threat to male economic preeminence, the restructuring of familial roles, and maintenance of traditional domains of male dominance in the home is not great. The threat would be likely to increase if the aspiration of the female to enter the labor market again becomes viable after her children mature.

The Negro girls and boys expressed desires for greater commitment to a job or career outside the home for themselves and their spouses, respectively, than whites. If these desires are realized, as most of the youth perceive they will be, one may predict less male dominance in the Negro than in the white homes and that the division of labor in the Negro homes is less likely to be along traditional white middle-class axes as it is in the whites'.

The youth's other marital-family projections do not reflect the hypothesized sex difference in rejection/acceptance of traditional status-role prescriptions or behavior. Regarding family size, the projections of the Negro boys, as well as girls, contrast significantly with large families they come from and the high fertility rates which characterize the Negro population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1969). These projections may reflect the desire of both Negro boys and girls to dissociate themselves from their oppressive environment. The latter desires would be facilitated by rejection of the large family, a contributor to Negro poverty and oppression.

Given the orientation of the girls towards working outside the home, the small families projected by the Negro and white boys and girls would facilitate accommodation of the female's career role because it would

lessen the number of years which the girls feel obliged to devote to the motherhood role. But these years would still comprise a significant portion of the female's life, not so much because of their quantity but because of their occurrence at a time in life which may be expecially crucial to career development. The age of marriage desired by the girls is too young to permit much time for career preparation and establishment before marriage, although that time would be slightly greater for the Negro than white girls.

Another facilitator to and, as noted previously, a possible consequence of the accommodation of career to family goals is the lesser import placed on familial goals relative to others. This contrasts significantly with the traditional supremacy prescribed for familial goals. Considering the impoverished circumstances of the Negro community and these Negro youth specifically, it is understandable that the Negro girls as well as boys might relegate marital-family goals to a lower level of importance than goals such as education and career. For white girls, however, the moderate import they accord marital-family goals relative to others is incongruous with their fertility desires and expectations and their desired and expected devotion to the mother role. This incongruency suggests value confusion and ambivalence resulting from the internalization of both egoistic, or achievement-oriented, and "feminine" values.

Longitudinal comparison suggests this confusion did not diminish as the girls approached adulthood and the time of decision-making. Indeed, contradictory to theoretical assertions, none of the orientations for any race-sex grouping of youth became more realistic over time, not even expectations. Stability of the aggregate distributions suggests that the

sex differences and similarities observed in 1968 might remain until adulthood and the time of decision-making. Additional longitudinal study is needed to determine if this occurs.

The similarity of patterned sex differences and similarities in the total sample and in the lower class portion suggests that the racial influence on sex-differences is viable in itself, that it is not mediated by class differences. It also suggests that the observed sex differences and similarities may permeate social class boundaries. However, further study utilizing direct social class comparisons is needed to test this proposition, especially for the Negroes, since the total Negro sample is heavily weighted by lower-class youth.

The reader is cautioned again about generalizing from these findings to anywhere other than the economically deprived rural South. Changing familial structures -- or at least the forces encouraging such change -- appear to be evolving largely from industrialism and urbanism and their demands upon life-styles (See, among others: Bell, 1967: 324-347; Degler, 1964; Parsons, 1959). These youth have been less exposed to these demands and, consequently, are probably less likely to spurn tradition than youth from more urban and industrial areas.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Lambda Coefficients Measuring Association between 1968 Recontact Status and 1966 Marital-Family Orientations.

Orientation	λ	
	Boys	Girls
Desired age of marriage	.00	.00
No. of children desired	.03	.00
No. of children expected	.01	.00
Desire to work after marriage	.00	.01
Expectation to work after marriage	.03	.03
Rank importance of Marital Family goals	.02	.00